The Next Generation: Russian Jewish Young Adults in Contemporary New York*

Aviva Zeltzer-Zubida
Philip Kasinitz

Abstract
This article provides a descriptive snap shot of Jewish, young adult children of the immigrants from the former Soviet Union, now living in the New York Metropolitan area. By exploring their communities, friendship networks, patterns of language retention and acquisition and the ways in which they construct their Jewish identity, the article seeks to understand how this new "second generation" is being incorporated into American, and American Jewish life. The majority of second generation Russian Jews, show a strong sense of Jewish ethnic identity. Jewish religious identity is a more mixed picture. A significant minority have become traditionally observant. An almost equal sized minority is not at all religious and in some cases even anti-religious, while others insist on the right to redefine "Jewish" in their own terms. The large majority of the respondents and their families received some assistance on arrival from the organized Jewish community. While most of the young Russian speaking Jews are economically upwardly mobile and many express gratitude to the Jewish community for its help, many are resentful of educational and religious institutions who they feel pressured them into becoming more observant and whom they describe as insensitive to the conflicts between the second generation and their immigrant parents this caused, as well as to the Russian speaking Jew's ethnic distinctiveness

Introduction

Since the early 1970s, more than 500,000 Jews have left the Soviet Union or former Soviet republics for the United States. Most—approximately 300,000—have settled in the New York metropolitan area. This new Russian-speaking Jewish population is diverse. They hail from the bustling, cosmopolitan cities of European Russia and the Baltic republics, as well as from small towns in Moldova and Ukraine and from remote regions of Central Asia and the Caucuses. They include world-renowned artists, scientists, and scholars, as well as professionals, bureaucrats, and ordinary workers. On average, they are older than other immigrants to the United States and some have the special needs that come with entering a new society at an advanced age. In the first years of Russian Jewish immigration, the newcomers included many "refus-

eniks" with long histories of opposition to the Soviet regime. As time has gone on, they have been joined by many who simply are looking for a better life. A handful already were religious upon arrival, and others came with a strong interest in reconnecting with the faith of their ancestors. The majority, however, were secular, although they often show a strong sense of Jewish ethnic identity. Still others have only the most tenuous connection to Judaism. Once in the United States, however, the immigrants have breathed new life into many Jewish institutions and neighborhoods, while at the same time posing a host of new challenges for the communities in which they have settled.[1] With the passing of time, the issues facing the Russian-speaking Jews have changed.[2] While new arrivals continue to need basic assistance in resettlement, language training, and other matters of initial adjustment, within the Russian-speaking Jewish community attention has begun to focus on the more long-term issues of incorporation into American society. What sort of Americans, and what sort of American Jews, will the immigrants become? Indeed, will they even become "Americans" at all? And what sort of Jewish New York are they now helping to recreate? Ultimately, these questions will not be answered by the refugees and immigrants alone, but also by their ambivalently American-Jewish children.

Of course, most Russian-speaking Jews in the United States are still fairly recent immigrants, with more than half immigrating since 1990. However, today slightly over 25% of New York's new Russian Jewish community are either the U.S.-born children of immigrants or immigrants who arrived in the country as children and who have grown up in large part in the United States.[3] To a considerable degree it is this second generation, now becoming young adults, who will negotiate new and different ways of "being American," "being Russian," and "being Jewish." These choices are not always explicit, nor are they mutually exclusive, and as with all young people, their identities may fluctuate over time. The research described below explores their communities and friendship networks, their patterns of language retention and acquisition, and the ways in which they construct their Jewish identity. It therefore provides a first snapshot of where the children of the former Soviet Union (FSU) immigrants are now, and it allows us to begin to speculate as to where they are going.

The research presented here is part of a larger study of the young adult children of immigrants in the New York Metropolitan area. The study looked at five large immigrant groups: Dominicans, Chinese, West Indians, South Americans and Russian Jews, as well as three "native" groups—whites of U.S. parentage, African-Americans of U.S. parentage, and Puerto Ricans—for comparison. The study involves two basic elements: a telephone survey in New York City and its suburbs, conducted between late 1998 and early 2000 with interviews lasting

about 40 minutes, and in-depth, loosely structured in-person interviews with a sub-sample of telephone respondents.[4] These follow-up interviews, conducted in 1999 and 2000, each lasted between one and a half and four hours.[5] The statistics reported below are based on the telephone surveys; the quotations are taken from the follow-up, in-depth interviews. In all, 310 Russian Jewish respondents took the telephone survey, and 40 took part in the in-depth follow-up interviews. All respondents were children of immigrants from the former Soviet Union aged 18 to 32, all had to be in the United States at least six years at the time of the interview, and all had to either identify as Jews or live in a household with someone that identifies as Jewish (see Appendix A for the screening questions).

Background Characteristics

As can be seen in Table 1, about 40% of the samples were 20 or younger at the time of the interview. This is not surprising, given the relatively recent arrival of so much of this population, particularly the larger upsurge in immigrants after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989. Over half the sample actually arrived in 1989 or later. Despite their recent arrival, most of the sample (61%) consists of U.S. citizens, and another 6% have naturalization applications pending. As the table shows, 12% of the respondents (38 people) were born in the United States—the true second generation. Borrowing terminology from the sociologist Ruben Rumbaut, we are terming the 13% of the sample who arrived by age 6 as the "1.75 generation," the 48% who arrived between ages 7 to 12 as the "1.5 generation" and the 27% who arrived between ages 12 and 18 and who have lived in the United States for at least six years, as the "1.5" generation (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

Ninety percent of the sample traces its origins to the Russian Republic or Ukraine. Seventy-eight percent were born in these two republics, and all of the 12% born in the United States had at least one parent born in one of them. The small number of Central Asian and Caucasian respondents is not surprising, since, as a sample of people largely raised in the United States, this study focuses on immigrants whose families arrived in the earlier phase of the current migration, and excludes those who arrived after 1993. However, it should be noted that the origins of the immigration from the FSU have shifted somewhat

Table 1

Sample Description

	Count	Percent
Male	160	52%
Female	150	48%
Total	310	100%
18-20	125	40%
21-23	78	25%
24-26	57	18%
27-29	30	10%
30-32	20	6%
Total	310	100%
US born	38	12%
88 or earlier	100	32%
89 or later	172	56%
Total	310	100%
US citizens by birth	38	12%
US citizens by naturalization	152	49%
Naturalization pending	17	6%
Green card	96	31%
Other status	6	2%
Total	310	100%
US born – Second Generation	38	12%
Immigrated at age 1-6 (1.75 generation)	39	13%
Immigrated at age 7-12 (1.5 generation)	150	48%
Immigrated at age 13-18	83	27%
Total	310	100%
Born in USA	38	12%
Born in Russia	189	61%
Born in Ukraine	53	17%
Born in other FSU republics	30	9%
Total	310	100%

over the last few years and that a similar study conducted 10 years from now would reveal a far greater diversity of origins.

Table 2

Parental Education

	Count	Percent
Both Parents have less than College Education	46	15%
One Parent has College Education	70	23%
Both Parents have College Education	183	62%
Total	299	100%

The pre-migration background characteristic that perhaps most distinguishes the Russian Jews from the other immigrant groups in the larger study is the very high levels of parental education. Despite the severe limits put on Jewish educational achievement during the Brezhnev era (see Gold, 1995), Table 2 suggests that 85% of respondents reported that at least one their parents had college degrees. In 62% of the cases both parents were college graduates.

The second generation also is relatively well educated. Forty one percent of the sample was enrolled in four-year colleges at the time they were interviewed. Another 30% already had graduated from four-year colleges, including 8% who were either currently enrolled in or had completed post-graduate education. Given the youth of the sample and the fact that immigration in some cases has delayed the educational progress of the 1.25 generation, these numbers are almost certain to rise. For example, 4% of the sample, all 18 or 19 years old, were still enrolled in high school (of the 41 respondents over age 28, 17% held postgraduate degrees). Only 6% of respondents are currently high school graduates not now enrolled in higher education, and most of these respondents were under 22 years old. Thus, it is likely that at least some of them will eventually go to college. Interestingly, only 7% were enrolled in or had graduated from two-year colleges, a lower figure than

for the other second-generation groups in the study, and 8% had some college training but were not currently enrolled and had no degree.

Table 3

Type of High School

	Count	Percent
NYC Public School – Non-magnet	192	62%
NYC Public – Magnet	15	5%
Public School Outside of NYC	49	16%
Private or Jewish	54	17%
Total	310	100%

Table 3 presents the distribution of respondents among types of high schools. The large majority of the sample, 83%, attended public high schools. While 16% of these were outside New York City (largely New York's suburbs, but elsewhere as well), 67% were graduates of New York City public high schools. Five percent were graduates of the cities' elite magnet schools, but the rest had attended regular public high schools. Only 17% had graduated from private schools—in the great majority of cases Jewish parochial schools. While this figure may seem low given the investment the organized Jewish community has made in Jewish education, it is higher than the number of students in private or parochial schools from any other group in the larger study except for native whites.

Given the youth of the Russian Jewish sample and the fact that many continue to live with their parents well into their 20s, college and university attendance may actually be a better indicator of adult socio-economic outcomes than their current income. If this is the case, the future would seem reasonably bright. Four-year college attendance is among the highest of the groups in the second-generation study once age is controlled for. In contrast with American Jews, however, college is often a local matter for the children of the Russian immigrants. This may be, in part, merely a consequence of the sampling method: Clearly, those attending college away from home were not in the area that was sampled. However, even among those who have already graduated college, the in-depth interviews show that New York area schools vastly predominate (Of course, it may simply be that those who leave the New York area for college are less likely to live in New York after graduation, and thus are missing from our sample.). At least for the sample

population, however, going away to an elite private school was seldom an option.

Table 4

Type of College (College attendees only)*

	Count	Percent
CUNY – 2 year	24	10%
CUNY – 4 year	105	43%
SUNY	20	8%
Private in NYC	77	32%
Private outside NYC	13	5%
Jewish Affiliated	5	2%
Total	244	100%

*Where the respondent has attended more than one college, data indicates the college they graduated from. If they have not yet graduated, the data is for the college they attended for the longest period of time.

As the Table 4 shows, the colleges of the City University of New York (CUNY) are by far the most common undergraduate institutions among the sample. CUNY four-year colleges alone account for 43% of all colleges attended. Cost and convenience are usually cited as the main reasons for this college choice. Like the young man who told us that Brooklyn College was an easy choice because it was the best college within 45 minutes of his parents' home, many in the sample took it for granted that they would continue to live at home while in college, which they often described as the only practical option. In contrast to many middle-class American students, they seemed to feel no need to leave their parents' households to establish themselves as adults. As one 20-year-old noted:

> The main reason (I live with my parents) is that I'm working about 35 hours a week. I'm a full-time student and I'm never home. So if I were to go out and pay rent myself, it would be a waste of money because no one would be living there.

A significant number also attend private colleges in the New York metropolitan area. While these include elite institutions such as Columbia and New York University, more often they are less prestigious institutions, such as Long Island University, Hofstra, Pace and C.W. Post. Cost clearly is not a factor in these choice; these schools are far more expensive than CUNY or SUNY schools. Location seems to play a major role.

In many cases, obligations to parents and a general assumption that unmarried young people should live at home may be limiting the available college choices, as well as placing emotional and economic burdens on young people unimaginable to most American (and particularly most Jewish American) undergraduates:

> *(Q)* You are in college now. You go to Pace University?
> *(A)* That's right.
> *(Q)* How did you decide to go there?
> *(A)* Because they provide a good job service, co-op program. And I am at an age where I have to help my parents. We just bought a house and I have to help them out.

Furthermore, for some of the sample, the choice of a private school may well be influenced by a post-Soviet assumption that private institutions are always superior to public ones. The speed and convenience with which one can get a degree from some of these institutions may be factors. A 25-year-old son of Belarusian parents, now working on Wall Street, recalled his days at Pace University:

> *(A)* I wanted to pass as quickly as possible. So I was never involved in anything at Pace. I just went to my classes and passed them and did my projects and stuff like that. So I basically got my grades... I'd applied for two private schools in New York, NYU and Pace. And from NYU I was rejected. They didn't take me. But Pace did, so I went. I was accepted to City University, schools like Baruch and Hunter and all that stuff, and I didn't want to go to a city college. I wanted to go to a private.
> *(Q)* How did you pay for college?
> *(A)* Financial aid and loans.
> *(Q)* Did you work during college?
> *(A)* Yeah.
> *(Q)* What did you do?
> *(A)* Starting with my second year in college, I started working in a banking company on Wall Street like JP Morgan and Goldman Sachs 'cause I was going through this co-op office, which finds you jobs in the Wall Street area. And I was working there as an intern and they took me there just to learn stuff. So I was getting into technology, like, starting the second year of my college.

Finally, many youths seem not to have as much information about college choices as some of their American peers.

> *(Q)* You are at SUNY Albany. How did you decide on there?
> *(A)* That's a good question. I didn't get into the school of my choice and I did not like Stony Brook.
> *(Q)* Which was the school of your choice?
> *(A)* Anywhere from Yale to Princeton. You know. And I didn't get in so I started applying to SUNYs and I didn't really know much about colleges. I was just slacking off then a little bit because I was just tired with work and I had so many customers with those essays that they were driving me crazy. So I didn't like Stony Brook. I didn't want to go to Binghamton. And I don't want to go to Buffalo because it's far and cold. So I just decided Albany.

It should be noted that in our experience this is hardly universal. The sample includes respondents who have attended America's finest colleges, including Brandeis, Oberlin, Boston University, and Yale. Yet, at least compared with the other groups in the study with comparably high levels of education (Koreans and Chinese), the emphasis seems to be on obtaining a degree, not necessarily on the prestige of that degree.

Communities, Networks and Friendships

The vast majority of respondents lived in areas with a large concentration of Russian-speaking immigrants, in southern Brooklyn and central Queens. This is in part because so many of them still live with their parents, in many cases buying homes with them. In addition, at least some of those immigrants raised in the suburbs of New York and elsewhere have moved into areas of immigrant concentration, although our numbers are not large enough to say whether this is a trend. One young woman raised in the suburbs but now living in Brooklyn describes the good and bad sides of the suburban American dream:

> *(A)* It was great. Suburban. Very nice community. Safe, quiet. Good resources, nice stores. It was just a nice suburb... quiet, schools were good. People were very nice.
> *(Q)* Who lived there?
> *(A)* Pretty much middle class. It was a little mixed. We have some African American families, not too many. Some minorities. I had an Indian friend and you know, it was mostly white Americans, but there were some Jewish kids like myself and some minorities. Sometimes there was nothing to do for kids. You couldn't really [do much] if you couldn't drive. You'd have to depend on [someone]—there was no transportation actually. So if you couldn't drive or someone couldn't drive you, you had to depend on [public] transportation. There are

> some bad parts about it. I went to a public high school, which is a very good high school, but it was a very big public high school and sometimes that creates problems, and people get left out and the problems that are happening all around the country today, the shootings and everything. I definitely see how it comes about from big public high schools that some kids just get left out and left behind or ignored, or they're just ostracized. They don't feel good about themselves and they want to shoot everybody else up. That's—it's horrible, actually. I mean, I knew kids that were excluded, were called nerds and geeks and stuff like that. There were two kids I remember that committed suicide…
>
> *(Q)* Did the kids from different backgrounds get along together?
>
> *(A)* Not really. I know that the black kids hung out with black kids and the rest of the minorities were so small in number, like there were four or five Jewish kids in the school… It was pretty white, with a few minorities.

Among the urban majority there is clear evidence of spreading out from original communities of first settlement. Many respondents raised in Brooklyn's Brighton Beach neighborhood have moved on, either with their parents or on their own, to the neighboring communities of Sheepshead Bay, Manhattan Beach, Midwood, and Bensonhurst, while many of those raised in Kew Gardens in Queens have moved on to other Queens neighborhoods and Long Island. For those raised in the heart of the immigrant communities, particularly Brighton Beach, their memories are often ambivalent. One 1.25-generation immigrant describes Brighton Beach as "a small community, a very familiar environment, a good atmosphere." Yet a comforting haven for immigrant parents can seem more like a stifling ghetto for their Americanized children. For young people trying to make their own way in life, a close-knit community can mean too much control and pressure. One young woman who came to Brighton Beach from Russia as toddler explained, Brighton Beach "was okay, because not knowing English it was easier [for her parents] just getting around." Yet as she became a teenager, she said she found it annoying "to live in an [a] community where everybody knows you, minds your business, and had an opinion on how you dress, whom you date, and how much money you have."

Other immigrant parents originally settled among Orthodox or Hasidic Jews in communities where most of the secular Jewish population had left for the suburbs. This created other problems, as this young man reports:

> *(Q)* What was it like to grow up in Borough Park?
> *(A)* At first it was a little bit uncomfortable because having to deal with all those customs that the Hasidic Jews have and that was hard for me 'cause I simply didn't want to deal with those rules and stuff.
> *(Q)* What kinds of customs?
> *(A)* We always used to clean our house on Saturdays. So that means that we would have to turn on the vacuum cleaner and everything and now that there's Shabbos and everything, my mom didn't want to do the cleaning and I'm used to that. So it was uncomfortable for me. I have to do it the next day or the day before. So that's one of the things. And those people were always looking at me like I was some kind of outsider.

Some of those who have moved into largely non-Jewish communities also report conflict with neighbors. This seems to be a particular issue in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, where many report conflicts between Russian and Chinese newcomers, and the "Americans"—by which they generally mean Americans of Italian decent. For the most part, however, the respondents seemed happy with their neighborhoods and many Russian Jews felt that their neighborhoods were improving, in part due to the influx of people like themselves:

> (A) This is Forest Hills [in Queens]. It's mostly Jewish. High Russian population, growing rapidly. It's becoming much safer and cleaner.
> (Q) So, you think this neighborhood is getting better?
> (A) It's hard to say. There are a lot of Russian immigrants moving in and because they're immigrants, their social culture might be a little different and you might look down on them. But they do keep within themselves. They keep bad stuff out of the neighborhood. So it's a little change but I don't think it's getting worse. It's just different.

Friendship Patterns

As can be seen in Table 5, members of the group seem to diverge, in terms of their friendship patterns, depending on their time in the United States. Not surprisingly, those born in the United States are the least likely to report that most of their friends are Russian but the most likely to report that most of their friends are Jewish. This may reflect the fact that the U.S.-born respondents are generally the most religious, but it might also indicate greater assimilation into the American Jewish community. Those who were born in the FSU but arrived before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 are the most likely to report that their

Table 5

Friendship Patterns*

	US born		Arrived '88 or earlier		Arrived '89 or later		All	
	Count	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**
All or most friends are Russian Jews	6	17%	29	30%	83	49%	118	39%
All or most friends are Jewish, “some” or “none” Russian	15	43%	14	15%	14	8%	43	14%
All or most friends are Russian, “some” or “none” Jewish	0	0%	14	15%	29	17%	43	14%
Friends are “Mixed”	8	23%	27	28%	30	18%	65	22%
Few friends are Russian or Jewish	6	17%	12	13%	12	7%	30	10%
Total	35	100%	96	100%	168	100%	299	100%

*Chi-square test is significant at .05 level.

friends are a mix of Russian Jews, non-Russian Jews, non-Jewish Russians, and others. Nearly half of those who arrived since 1989 report that all or most of their friends are fellow Russian Jews but a significant minority (17%) report that all or most of their friends are non-Jewish Russians.

"Yana" says that her parents decided to immigrate "because they (i.e. Russians) were prejudiced against the Jews and so that we would be better off financially." Shortly after arrival, Yana went to the local junior high school. "There were some Americans, some Hispanics, blacks, and, as the years went by, some Chinese people and later some Pakistani, but predominantly Russians." As far as the treatment she received from classmates, she says, "They didn't like it if you were Russian. The kids bothered us in school because we did not speak English." She goes on to say that "by the ninth grade it was much better because we spoke more English; we were more American." She eventually went to a specialized high school in Manhattan, which was very mixed in terms of ethnicity. "Attitudes were very different. Kids there are a lot more cultured and it was just fun," she said. She got good grades in high school, her English improved, and she was, by her own account, "a lot more adapted to American culture."

More recently, however, she reports more association with other Russian Jews: "I have had more Russian friends as I got older," she says. "It got more important because you have more things in common, as far as childhood and background." Her Russian also improved in recent years. "There was a nail salon in my house that was owned by young Russian people. We started hanging out and they would start telling jokes and anecdotes and I really did not understand. So I started speaking Russian with them, so my Russian is much better, but still when I speak, people always notice the [American] accent." When Yana has children she plans to teach them Russian as well as Jewish history, customs, and traditions.

Other respondents recall their highly diverse New York City public high schools as ethnically divided and sometimes hostile places. Yeshivas were sometimes recalled as smaller and more emotionally supportive, though not always academically challenging, particularly for girls. One 19-year-old woman who immigrated at age 8 recalls:

> (A) [In public elementary school] I was basically guessing at the tests 'cause I could not understand English. Even if I could do, say, the math, I did not understand what they were asking me. So that was interesting... I passed fifth grade. They put me in an ESL class. That was somewhat of a help. And then when I went to yeshiva, it was basically Russian Jewish girls and I could communicate with them.

> (Q) Was your English better by that time?
>
> (A) A little bit but I think my progress in English sort of stopped when I went there—not gotten as further as it could have.
>
> (Q) Because most of your friends spoke Russian?
>
> (A) Yeah. And we didn't do much work. So we were jumping Chinese jump rope 24/7 basically and our teachers just didn't care, so whatever... I cannot say I learned much. I think it was two years wasted, as in getting ahead mathematically and English-wise, history, sciences. But I think they helped me out emotionally a lot. And they sort of shaped some of my views today—Conservative and all that part of me, definitely from them.

Another young woman raised in Brighton Beach recalls her first encounter with American diversity in a New York public junior high school. "Some Americans didn't like it if you were Russian. Everybody teased us. And we were pushed and kicked in the hall," she said. In her case, however, junior high eventually became a place to make friends different from herself, a fact that did not always go over well with her Russian peers. "I sat next to a black boy in homeroom. We really hit it off. I remember thinking he was cute and the other black guys started teasing, 'Ooh, Marina has a boyfriend!'" By eighth grade most of her friends were black and Hispanic. Once, after a Russian girl threatened to "kick my ass, the black girls from my block took care of her. They roughed her up and the Russian girl apologized to me. How could I not like these people!"

In this case, the young woman went into a specialized high school in Manhattan where she recalls much better relations between members of the various ethnic groups. Yet this was not always the case. One young man from Queens recalls good ethnic relations in his local elementary school, but things became less cordial in a selective public high school:

> (Q) Who were in your classes in elementary school?
>
> (A) It was completely mixed. The neighborhood I grew up in [was] from the projects, it was more or less at that age there was no racial tension at all.
>
> (Q) Now, middle school—it was also was a public school—who were the people there?
>
> (A) Jewish and black.
>
> (Q) How were the relations in that school?

> (A) They kept to themselves. In their own group. There might have been if you wanted the tension, but you could just avoid it.
> (Q) So in high school, who were the students there in terms of ethnic backgrounds?
> (A) Oh, it was about 35% black, 40% Asian, and I was a minority there.
> (Q) How did the groups get along?
> (A) They kept to their own groups!

When it comes to choosing marriage partners, second-generation Russian Jews seem to prefer their own. In the sample, 57.6% of respondents said it was "very important" to marry a fellow Jew, compared with only 11% of the American Jews interviewed in the "native white" sample. There are many possible reasons for this choice, such as the feeling that it would make it easy for the families to get along, not wanting to assimilate, or wanting their partner to understand them better. As a man from Queens notes:

> I guess I feel that I should marry a Jewish woman… Because, you know, everybody complains about assimilation and I don't want to be a part of it. It's sort of like, it's like doing the dishonorable thing, you know. It feels like if I marry a non-Jewish girl I'm going to go into assimilation, cross that line. And even though I shouldn't really care, I should care what I want, maybe there's some things higher than what I want, you know? I guess some higher goals and beyond just any individual.

Language Retention

Fully 84% of the sample report Russian as the dominant language in their households when growing up. Indeed, only about a quarter of those actually born in the United States reported English as the dominant language. A surprising 4% reported speaking Yiddish at home, while the rest spoke either Hebrew or another FSU language, usually Georgian or Uzbek. The data presented in Table 7 shows that a slight majority of the sample (53%) reported preferring English at home today. However, as can be seen in Table 8, even among those who were born in the United States or who arrived before age 12, 85% report speaking their parental language "well," while 93% report understanding it. When it comes to writing, however, self-reported fluency drops off markedly: Only about one-third report being able to write their parental language well. Although New York's Russian-language media has grown significantly in recent years, few of the children of immigrants seem to make much use of it. Nearly half report listening or watching Russian-language

radio and television "rarely" or "not at all," while only about one-third does so frequently. When those who arrived after age 12 are dropped from the analysis, that number declines further. On the other hand, for some, speaking Russian (if not using Russian-language media) seems to be a signifier of ethnic identity.

Table 6

Language Used When Growing up

Language	Count	Percent
English	10	3%
Russian	260	84%
Other FSU Language	7	2%
Hebrew	8	3%
Yiddish	13	4%
Other	12	4%
Total	310	100%

Table 7

Language Prefer to Speak Now

Language	Count	Percent
English	159	53%
Russian	128	42%
Other	23	5%
Total	310	100%

Table 8

Proficiency in Parental Language

	Came before age 12		All	
	Count	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**
Speak				
Well	169	85%	251	89%
Some	20	10%	21	7%
A little	9	4%	9	3%
Not at all	1	1%	1	1%
Total	199	100%	282	100%
Understand				
Well	185	93%	268	95%
Some	11	6%	11	4%
A little	3	1%	3	1%
Not at all	0	0%	0	0%
Total	199	100%	282	100%
Read				
Well	98	49%	175	62%
Some	43	21%	46	16%
A little	30	15%	32	11%
Not at all	28	14%	29	10%
Total	199	100%	282	100%
Write				
Well	68	34%	137	49%
Some	46	23%	56	20%
A little	36	18%	39	14%
Not at all	49	25%	50	17%
Total	199	100%	282	100%

Several older in-depth interview respondents report trying to drop Russian completely in a headlong drive to assimilate during their teenage years, only to develop a new appreciation for the language in their 20s. Consider the attitude of this 26-year-old classical musician, raised in the suburbs of New York but now living in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn:

(Q) When you were growing up, would you speak Russian at home?
(A) Half and half...
(Q) Did you ever listen to Russian radio, watch Russian TV, read Russian newspapers?
(A) Never.
(Q) Do you read Russian at all?
(A) A little bit.
(Q) Did you translate for your family when you were younger?
(A) A little bit. Although, my parents are smart and they picked it up, but if they didn't understand something, I could help....
(Q) Do you speak Russian now?
(A) My fiancée and I—actually I speak more Russian now than I did 10 years ago, because my fiancée and I speak and the community speaks Russian, although I insist on speaking English with them.
(Q) And how about when you have kids. Are you going to teach them Russian? Hebrew?
(A) Russian. They can learn Hebrew when they're in their Sunday School and if they want to pursue it, that's fine.
(Q) But you would definitely teach them Russian.
(A) Yes, definitely. Because when you know another language, you have a whole world to open up to you and your understanding of things is so much richer when you can understand them in at least two languages. Not to mention the fact that there's, like, so much incredible literature written in Russian and Russia has been such an important part of American history that I think it's great!

Jewish Identity

Upon arrival to the United States, Russian Jewish immigrants often were met by a wide variety of Jewish institutions, which made a concerted effort to bring Russian Jews into American Jewish life as well as to provide support for the newly arrived immigrants. Within this context, some of the immigrants—few of whom had practiced much in the way of organized religion in the Soviet Union—adopted contemporary American existing Jewish practices and identities while others constructed new ways of being Jewish. Many joined Reform and Conservative congregations, which appealed to many immigrants because they did not place heavy demands on them while giving meaning and content to their Jewishness. Others chose to join the Orthodox community. Still others expressed their Jewishness in "creative" ways, such as having a large family gathering and daylong feasts on Yom Kippur. Whereas Jewishness in the former Soviet Union had been a national—and indeed

in many ways a racial—identity, in the United States it became a cultural and religious one. Life in the United States presented the Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants with a variety of identity options and a space conducive to experimentation and improvisation.

As can be seen in Table 9—though we were deliberately somewhat broader than the *halachic* definition of 'who is a Jew' in our sampling design, interviewing anyone who had a parent who identified as Jewish even if the respondent did not—the vast majority (78%) of our sample did consider themselves Jewish, though there was not a clear consensus over what that means. Among the rest of the sample, 15% said they have "no religion," while only 4% identified with anther religion and 2% did not respond.

Table 9

Reported Religion and Type of Jewish Affiliation

	Count	**Percent**
Jewish	242	78%
Hasidic	6	3%
Orthodox	17	7%
Conservative	40	17%
Reform	48	20%
Reconstructionist	3	1%
"Just Jewish"	69	28%
Not Practicing, Not Affiliated	31	13%
Other, DK, Refuse	28	12%
Total	242	100%
Protestant	4	1%
Catholic	3	1%
Other Christian	2	1%
Atheist/Agnostic	4	1%
No religion	48	15%
Other, DK, Refuse	7	2%
Total	310	100%

Among those that did identify as Jews, about 10% described themselves as Hasidic or Orthodox, 17% said they are Conservative, 20% said they are Reform, and 1% identified as Reconstructionist. The other half of the respondents who identified as Jewish said they are not practicing or

not affiliated. Nevertheless, even these respondents expressed a strong, albeit clearly "ethnic" rather then religious, sense of Jewishness. For most respondents, being Jewish was very meaningful and had a positive connotation. There is a sense of pride and belonging to a people with a rich history and culture:

> "For me it is primarily ethnic and cultural. A level of history that I completely accept and adopt. It doesn't extend to religion for me. I think that you can be just as Jewish without being religious at all."

> "It's not about being religious. Because people could be not religious and still be Jewish…A lot of people that are not Jewish and not Russian have a difficult time understating that."

> "I do associate myself with the Jews and the heritage and background and what Jewish people have gone through… Yes, I definitely feel a sense of belonging. It's just the religious aspect that I don't partake in."

Table 10

Jewish Education Programs

	Count	Percent
Jewish Community Center	162	52%
Jewish Summer Camp	117	38%
Jewish After-School Programs	74	24%
Jewish Sunday School	27	9%
Attend Yeshiva more than a year	109	35%
Hillel (% of college attendees in the past or present)	41	15%
Participated in some form of Jewish education activity	186	60%
N=310		

Since most immigrant parents came from the FSU knowing very little about the Jewish religion, participation in Jewish educational programs was an important way to learn about "being Jewish." Table 10 presents information about the participation of respondents in such programs. As we can see, more than half the sample participated in a Jewish Community Center, about 40% went to Jewish summer camp and about one-quarter participated in Jewish after-school programs.

For those who attended yeshivas and Jewish day schools (about 35%), the experience was mixed. While some found the smaller, mono-ethnic environment comforting, others, particularly in more Orthodox settings, chaffed at what they recall as pressure to become more religious, as well as cultural conflict between the largely secular Russians and Orthodox American Jews. Ironically, while fear of large unknown, multi-ethnic public schools leads many Russian immigrant parents to send their children to yeshivas, many of these were controlled by Orthodox Jewish organizations whose customs and lifestyles were equally foreign to the Russians. Thus, while some Russian immigrants preferred yeshiva settings to public schools, mainly because they were perceived as "private education" and as offering protection from undesirable influences, the yeshiva experience often is recalled by the immigrants' children as one of mutual disappointment. Orthodox institutions made great efforts to incorporate the Russian Jews and to provide them with outreach programs and social services and subsidized education. In return, however, they expected the immigrants to become part of the Orthodox community and were often clearly disappointed when this did not happen. The immigrants, in turn, were disappointed with what they recall as the condescending and disrespectful manner in which they were treated by the Orthodox institutions. For example, "Anna," a 25-year-old lawyer who emigrated at age 6, recalls her Jewish day school in a largely American Jewish suburban neighborhood:

> They sort of had this project to save Russian Jews, but they were sort of disappointed in us. This [was] an Orthodox day school. So when they watched all these things on television about Refusniks and these poor Russian Jews wanting so desperately to study Torah and aren't being allowed to—so now they will [be able to study Torah]. But we did not want to study Torah. And they were not too happy with us.

Moreover, the demands for religious observance from children of immigrants who attended yeshivas frequently caused tension with parents, who were either non-observant or insufficiently observant to satisfy those in charge of their children's education. As U.S.-born "Irene," who attended yeshivas from first grade until the end of high school and became Orthodox, recalls:

> It was traumatic for me and for my parents. They did not want to be religious. They explained to me that they have been this way for this long and were not going to change. They said that when I grow up and have my own house I could do whatever I

> wanted, but that I am not going to change their life. I dealt with it somehow, but it did cause a lot of controversy.

Now in her 20s, Irene remains strictly observant despite ongoing conflict this causes with her parents. In general, those with yeshiva experiences are more attached to Judaism, though they rarely are as religious as their teachers. They are more likely to celebrate holidays and attend synagogue. Indeed, as the regression analysis below shows, yeshiva attendance as a child is one of the best predictors of both adult religious participation and strong Jewish ethnic identity, even among those who do not currently consider themselves religious. And in a minority of cases, Orthodox education of the children eventually brings the parents into the Orthodox fold. Eighteen-year-old Juliana, who was born in the United States shortly after her parents emigrated, recalls how her education led her mother to become increasingly observant and eventually become part of the Orthodox community:

> She wanted me to get Jewish education because in Russia she was not able to. The Jewish schools wanted a woman who was religious, who kept all the laws, who covered her hair. So my mother conformed a little bit. She did that just so I can go to a Jewish school. Then, as I went along I would ask, 'Why don't you do this? Why don't you do that?' and eventually they started doing it. I don't know if they are doing it for the kids or they are doing it because they want to. But I think they would stop by now [if they did not like it].

For other former yeshiva attendees however, the experience remains a source of resentment. Negative experiences in yeshivas were mentioned frequently, ranging from open discrimination (separating Russian and American students on different floors) and claims of poor-quality education in math and science, to insensitivity to the plight of the recent immigrants and fostering conflicts between parents and children. As one young man, who eventually left for public school and who is no longer observant, recalls:

> There was this one rabbi that was in charge of the tuition for the yeshiva there and he was very… from what my mother described to me, he was very mean to her… She didn't have any money but she wanted me to be in yeshiva, not so much to learn the Jewish religion but to be in a safe environment because my area is not the safest in the world to be in public school with the type of kids there… [they were] much worse quality than in the Yeshiva. That's why she wanted me there

> and she couldn't really afford it so she was trying to get.... She was trying to plead with them not to charge as much, but they said, 'Hey, whatever. Do what you need to do. Pay for it or else you don't have to send him here.' They were so mean.

While religious identity and participation varies widely among second-generation Russian Jews, a strong and overwhelmingly positive sense of ethnic Jewish identity is almost universal among them. The survey used a series of questions on Jewish identity and practices developed by Bethamie Horowitz for the National Jewish Population Survey 2000-01 (See Horowitz, 1999). As Table 11 shows, these items revealed an overwhelming degree of pride in being a Jew. Ninety-six percent agreed with the statement that they are proud of their Jewishness, and 81% reported feeling a sense of 'belonging to the Jewish people." Interestingly, when the question turns to responsibility for "Jews in need around the world," the number drops to 65%. Table 12 summarizes the responses to the question: "There are many ways of being Jewish. How much, if at all, does being Jewish involve for you personally the following," suggesting that about 80% agreed with the importance of remembering the Holocaust and celebrating the holidays; 72% said that supporting Israel was an important way of being Jewish, and only 43% agreed that attending synagogue is an important way of being Jewish.

In terms of actual religious practices, Table 13 shows that regular synagogue attendance was the least common. The display of Jewish objects in the home is the most common form of practice—the one that is the most individual, the least traditionally religious, and the most closely associated with an ethnic and familial rather than a religious Jewish identity. This split between ethnic identity and religious participation is, of course, not unique to young Russian Jews. As Horowitz (2002) notes, these different notions of Jewishness can be seen among

Table 11
Table 1: Ethnic Identity*

	Agree Completely		Agree Somewhat		Disagree Somewhat		Disagree Completely		Total	
	Count	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**	**Count**	**Percent**
I am proud to be a Jew	245	83%	37	13%	8	3%	4	2%	294	100%
I have a clear sense of what being Jewish means to me	170	57%	98	33%	18	6%	10	4%	296	100%
I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people	147	50%	93	31%	36	12%	19	6%	296	100%
I have a special responsibility to take care of Jews in need around the world	67	23%	124	42%	73	25%	29	10%	294	100%

*This table does not include respondents who identified as Christian or atheist

Table 12
Table 2: Ways of Being Jewish*

	A lot		Somewhat		Only a little		Not at All		Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Remembering the Holocaust	155	52%	88	30%	38	13%	16	5%	297	100%
Supporting Israel	105	35%	114	38%	47	16%	31	11%	297	100%
Leading an ethical and moral life	151	52%	87	30%	23	8%	32	11%	293	100%
Observing Jewish law (Halachah)	57	19%	105	35%	71	24%	64	22%	296	100%
Studying Jewish texts	39	13%	74	25%	81	27%	103	35%	297	100%
Making the world a better place	134	46%	93	32%	24	8%	40	14%	292	100%
Learning about Jewish history and culture	133	45%	108	36%	46	15%	10	3%	297	100%
Attending synagogue	39	13%	89	30%	91	31%	76	26%	295	100%
Having a rich spiritual life	78	27%	91	31%	69	24%	54	18%	293	100%
Giving your children a Jewish education	116	40%	95	32%	40	14%	43	15%	293	100%
Celebrating Jewish holidays	147	49%	99	33%	30	10%	21	8%	297	100%
Supporting Jewish organizations	67	22%	125	42%	66	22%	39	13%	297	100%
Believing in God	161	55%	57	20%	32	11%	40	14%	290	100%
Being part of a Jewish community	67	22%	123	42%	62	21%	45	15%	297	100%
Giving to charity	86	29%	138	46%	41	14%	33	11%	297	100%

*This table does not include respondents who identified as Christian or atheist.

American Jews as well. The Russian case, however, seems to be particularly extreme.

Table 13

Religious Observance (% yes)*

	Count	Percents
Give Jewish Charity	132	44%
Had Bar/Bat Mitzvah	139	47%
Light Candles on Friday	136	46%
Fast on Yom-Kippur	181	61%
Attend Synagogue	109	37%
Attend Synagogue at least once a month	46	15%
Display Jewish Objects	223	75%
N=297		

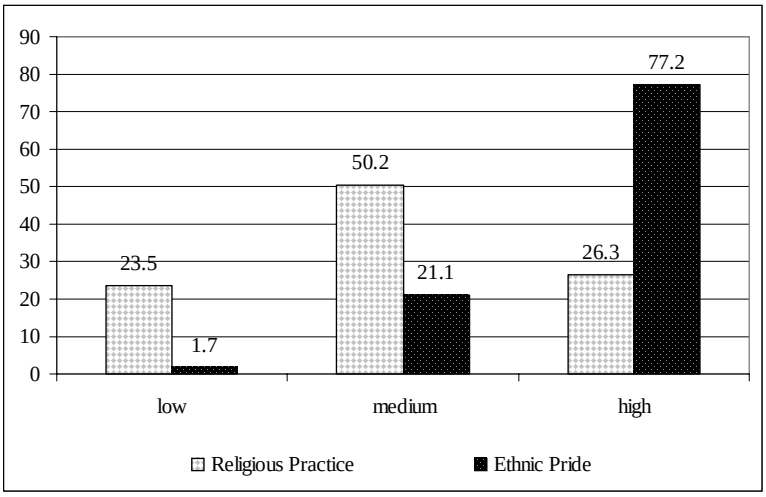
*This table does not include respondents who identified as Christian or atheist.

As the survey data and in-depth interviews suggest, young Russian Jewish Americans are very proud of their Jewishness but don't always interpret or translate that pride into religious practice. Therefore, we constructed two different indices of Jewish identity. One is a scale of religious practice,[6] and the other is a scale of ethnic pride.[7]

As can be seen in Figure 1, the scales have very different distributions. While the ethnic pride scale is almost universally high, the religious observance scale is evenly distributed across the sample, with almost equal-sized minorities of respondents showing strongly religious and completely secular orientations, with the majority of the sample in the middle. This difference suggests that the ethnic and religious aspects of Jewishness are seen as separate issues by most members of the group, complicating even further the meaning and definition of Jewishness. This is not surprising, coming as they do from the Soviet context, in which open religious practice was rare, "Jewish" was a cultural or national identity reinforced by prevailing anti-Semitism, and being Jewish had little to do with whether or not one attended synagogue. For the children of the Soviet Jewish immigrants, "Jewish" remains as much something one *is* as it is something one *does*. This notion of ethnicity seems a good deal more rooted in daily life practices and social networks than the largely "symbolic ethnicity" and "symbolic religiosity" Herbert Gans sees as typical of the ethnic identity of most U.S. whites (Gans, 1979; see also Sharot, 1997; Waters, 1990; Horowitz, 2002).

Figure 1

Religious Practice and Ethnic Price Scales*



*This table does not include respondents who identified as Christian or atheist.

Whether or not they practice religion in any formal sense seems to have little to do with whether they are likely to see themselves as Jewish, live in Jewish communities, or seek out fellow Jews as friends and marriage partners. In this sense, today's children of immigrants probably resemble earlier Jewish immigrants and "second generations" more than they do their American Jewish contemporaries.

Conclusion

By any institutional measure, the new Russian Jewish immigrants would seem well integrated, if not exactly assimilated into American life, and American Jewish life. They are a well-educated, reasonably prosperous group, and while the memories of immigration come with the usual mix of emotions, few seem to have been traumatized by the experience. Most are remarkably close to their families of origin. If anything seems to limit their mobility in America, it is the strength of those ties, particularly their strong preference for living with their parents as young adults. In contrast to most of their American contemporaries, they rarely associate the transition to adulthood with leaving the parental household. It should be noted, however, that this cultural preference may also have considerable economic advantages, particularly in the high-cost New York housing market (see Holdaway, *et al*, forthcoming).

The hopes of some in the organized Jewish community that the new immigrants and their children would "save" many religious and communal institutions by participating at rates far higher than those of other American Jews generally have not occurred. Given the highly secular nature of the group, such hopes probably were misplaced. Yet the immigrants and their children certainly do not seem to be participating at rates lower than those of American Jews.

In terms of subjective identity, the second generation seems poised between old and new modes of Jewishness. In the former Soviet Union, "Jewish" was an ascribed status, a national identity, and indeed generally thought of as a race. As one of our respondents put it, "We were different... we *looked* different" from the Russian majority. In New York, the second- and 1.5-generation Russian Jews effectively have become "white;" as their accents disappear, they are more or less free to join the majority culture. Yet in a place and time of "optional" ethnicity (see Waters, 1990) the vast majority continue to see themselves as, and take pride in being, Jews. They do so, however, on their own terms, which are more often ethnic, cultural, and historical than religious. Having long suffered discrimination for being Jews, most feel they have the right to decide what that identity means for them. They have little patience for those who would try to instruct them in the "right way" to be Jewish. The strategy of some religious groups to "get to the parents through the children"—that is, to open the doors of the yeshivas and other educational institutions in the hope that the second-generation children would then teach (or pressure) their immigrant parents to become more observant—seems to have worked in some cases, but in others it may have backfired. Many remember with deep resentment what they recall as meddling in the parent-child relationship and the deliberate fostering of generational conflict. Of course, it also should be remembered that the second- and 1.5-generation Russian Jews in New York today are still young. As Horowitz reminds us, formal religious participation, among Jews and others, often is tied to stage in the life course (Horowitz, 2002). More standard forms of religious practice may increase as the group ages and has children of its own.

Contact with the diverse American Jewish community also has made many subjects aware of how Russian they are in culture and outlook. Several of the people we spoke to noted the irony in this. They laugh at the fact that they had to leave Russia to be seen, and to see themselves, as Russian. Still, Russian also is a part of who they are; they see little reason to give up.

In all likelihood, as these young people grow older, most will continue to see themselves as New Yorkers, as Americans, as Jews, and as part of a new, distinct "Russian-speaking Jewish Diaspora," even as they actually speak Russian less and less. These identities are different

but not contradictory. It is precisely this sense of the possibility of multiple identities that separates them from their immigrant parents and that makes them so at home in America, and especially in New York.

NOTES

[*] This article is dedicated to the memory of the late Gary Rubin, a tireless advocate for immigrants and social justice within the Jewish community, without whose efforts this research would not have come about. The work presented in this paper is part of a larger study of the children of immigrants in the New York metropolitan area, supervised by Philip Kasinitz and John Mollenkopf of the City University of New York and Mary C. Waters of Harvard University. We thank Professors Mollenkopf and Waters and Jennifer Holdaway of the Social Science Research Council for their substantial contributions to the work described here, although responsibility for any shortcomings of the present paper rests strictly with the authors. We also thank the UJA-Federation of New York for their generous support of the Russian Jewish portion of the Second Generation Project.

[1] See Jacobs and Paul, 1981; Orleck, 1987, 1999; Markowitz, 1993; Gold, 1995,1997; Chiswick, 1997; Gittelman, 1997; Simon, 1997; Zeltzer-Zubida, 2000; 2004, for more discussion about the Russian Jewish community.

[2] We use the increasingly popular term "Russian-speaking" Jews to include people from throughout the former Soviet Union as well as the emerging Russian-speaking Jewish communities in Western Europe and Israel.

[3] Population estimates derived from the March 1998 Current Population Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

[4] The main telephone survey was fielded in November 1998. After the first wave of 30,000 random digit screening calls was completed in March 1999, the research team checked results and determined which exchanges the survey firm would target for the second round of concentrated screening. The telephone survey restarted in May 1999, with random digit dialing within those exchanges where members of the targeted groups had been located in the first wave of screening calls. This phase of the survey ended in February 2000.

[5] For a more complete description of the entire study and the sampling methods, see Kasinitz, et al, 2002.

[6] The scale is composed of the following five items: Do you display Jewish objects? Did you have bar/bat mitzvah? Does someone in the household light candles on Friday night? Did you fast on Yom Kippur? Do you attend a place of worship? These items were recoded as dichoto-

mies, summed up, and recoded to represent low, medium, and high religious practice. Thus, the new variable is coded low if the respondent said he does none or just one of the things mentioned above, medium if he does two or three of them, and high if he does four or all five. The alpha of the items in the scale is 0.638.

[7] The ethnic pride scales were composed from the following 3 items: I am proud to be a Jew, I have a clear sense of what being Jewish means to me, and I have a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish people. These items were summed up and recoded to represent low, medium, and high ethnic pride. Thus, the new variable is coded low if a respondent disagreed with the statements, medium if he agreed with some and disagreed with others, and high if he agreed with all of them. The alpha of the items in the scale is 0.733

Appendix A – Screening questions for Russian-Jewish respondents

S1e. And which of the following would describe the ethnic background of the members of this household who are white? {39}

Irish
Italian
Jewish (ASK Q.S1e1)
Russian (ASK Q.S1e2)
[Includes the following, if offered by respondent:]
(DO NOT READ:)
(VOL) Armenian
(VOL) Kazakhstani
(VOL) Azerbaijani
(VOL) Latvian
(VOL) Belarussian/Belorussian
(VOL) Lithuanian
(VOL) Bessarabian
(VOL) Moldavian/Moldovan
(VOL) Birobidzhani
(VOL) Tajikistani
(VOL) Bokharan/Bukharan
(VOL) Ukrainian
(VOL) Estonian
(VOL) Uzbekistani
(VOL) Georgian
or Something else (SPECIFY) _____

(ASK Q.S1e1 IF JEWISH IN Q.S1e)

S1e1. Were the parents of any of the Jewish members of the household born in Russia or any of the former Soviet republics? {41}

Yes (Select)
No

(ASK Q.S1e2 IF RUSSIAN AND NOT JEWISH IN Q.S1e)

S1e2. And, do any of the (Russian/other Russian ethnicity) members of the household consider themselves Jewish, either by religion or by background? {42}

Yes (Select)
No

REFERENCES

Chiswick, B. 1997. "Soviet Jews in the United States: Language and Labor Market Adjustments Revisited." in Lewin-Epstein, Roi and Ritterband (eds.), *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Migration and Resettlement*. London: Frank Cass.

Gittelman, Z. 1997. "'From a Northern Country': Russian and Soviet Jewish Immigration to American and Israel in Historical Perspective." in Lewin-Epstein, Roi and Ritterband (eds.), *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Migration and Resettlement*. London: Frank Cass.

Gold, S. 1995. *From the Worker's State to the Golden State: Jews from the Former Soviet Union in California*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

_____. 1997. "Community Formation Among Jews from the Former Soviet Union in the US." in Lewin-Epstein, Roi and Ritterband (eds.), *Russian Jews on Three Continents: Migration and Resettlement*. London: Frank Cass.

Holdaway, J., P. Kasinitz, M. Waters and J. Mollenkopf. Forthcoming. "Growing up in the Big City: The Transition to Adulthood in New York." In Patrick Carr, Maria Kefalas, Jennifer Holdaway and Mary C, Waters (editors), *Coming of Age in America*. Forthcoming.

Horowitz, B. 1999. "Indicators of Jewish Identity: Developing a Coinceptiual Framework for Understanding American Jewry. Discussion Paper Prepared for the Mandel Foundation. November, 1999.

_____. 2002. "Reframing the Study of Contemporary American Jewish Identity." In *Contemporary Jewry*, Volume 23.

Kasinitz, P., M. Waters and J. Mollenkopf. 2002. "Becoming American/ Becoming New Yorkers: The Experience of Assimilation in a Majority Minority City." *International Migration Review* 36(4):1020-1036.

_____. (editors). 2004. *Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographic Accounts of the New Second Generation*. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.

Jacobs, D. and E. Paul (eds.). 1981. *Studies of the Third Wave: Recent Migration of Soviet Jews to the United States*. Westview Press.

Markowitz, F. 1993. *A Community In Spite of Itself: Soviet Jewish Émigrés in New York* Smithsonian Institution Press.

Orleck, A. 1987. "The Soviet Jews: Life in Brighton Beach, Brooklyn." in Nancy Foner (ed.) *New Immigrants in New York*. New York: Columbia University Press.

_____. 1999. *The Soviet Jewish Americans*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Portes, A and R.G. Rumbaut. 2001. *Legacies, The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, and New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Sharot, S. 1997. "A Critical Comment on Gans' Symbolic Ethnicity and Symbolic Religiouity and other Formulations of Ethnicity and Religion regarding American Jews." *Contemporary Jewry,* Volume 18 25-43.

Simon, R. 1997. *In The Golden Land: A Century of Russian and Soviet Jewish Immigration in America*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Waters, M. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Zeltzer-Zubida, A. 2000. "Beyond Brighton Beach: Russian Jews in the American Mosaic." *CommonQuest: the Magazine of Black Jewish Relations*. Vol. 4 No. 3.

_____. 2004. "Affinities and Affiliations: The Many Ways of Being A Russian- Jewish-American" In Kasinitz, P. Waters, M. and J. Mollenkopf (editors) *Becoming New Yorkers: Ethnographic Accounts of the New Second Generation*. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.